

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tubatulabal NS22

317 Salt.- Rock salt (uwa-1) obtained in winter
135 chiefly, from dry salt lake to E in Koso terri-
431 tory between Randsburg and Cantil on n. edge of
[415] Mohave desert. Individual men went for it, afoot;
487 "a man started out at 2-3 o'clock in the morning,
taking water with him in a basketry water bottle.
He returned home the same evening or the next
day, bringing back 1/2 sackful of salt, enough
for about one month, on each trip" (SM). Route
followed led S from Weldon to Kelso valley in
Kawaiisu territory, thence SE to Jawbone canyon
and Mohave desert and NE to Dry Salt lake. An-
other route from Onyx led over Walker pass, S
across Indian Wells valley to Dove springs and
through Red Rock canyon to Cantil. Either route
about 40 mi. long. Salt transported in large
[482] lumps, in deerskin sacks; when used pounded in
mortars or pulverized on slab; used sparingly
on cooked meat and for drying meat and fish,
but not to season acorn, piñon mush, or any other
plant foods. Salt per se not specifically tabooed
at certain times (SM, FP), as among Diegueño,
262 Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 721, 747, 748, 750);
784 food taboos related specifically to meat (includ-
ing fish), grease, and cold water. However, as
it was only with meat and fish that salt was
used, practical result was that observers of
meat taboo also abstained from salt during taboo
periods.

251 Storage and preservation of food.- Acorns
343 stored in granary (la-lwašti-l) of M'wok type
(Kroeber, Handbook, 446, pl. 38) but lacking cen-
ter post and with framework consisting of 4 large
posts, 6 ft. high, set upright in ground 3 ft.
apart to form square. Bottom of granary cleared
ground by 2-4 in. Granary lined with sagebrush;
after acorns dumped in, layer of brush piled over
them and bark slabs put over brush to keep out
rain. Granaries built at acorn grounds used from
yr. to yr.; during winter man and wife made
trips to their granary and drew upon contents as
needed. Smaller granaries of same type sometimes
set up near dwelling house to use for acorns
gathered nearer home.

Piñon cache (pača-i-ništ) consisted of cir-
cular pit, about 5 ft. in diameter, 2 1/2 ft.
deep, dug with sticks in floors of natural rock
shelters near piñon grounds. Pits lined with flat
rocks (SM) or brush (FP); loose piñons dumped
into cavity, cache covered with large flat rocks
or grass and small stones. During winter men made
trips to caches, packing home piñons in skin
sacks.

Families generally had storage house near
family dwelling; this storage house as large and
made in same fashion as living-house, save that
it lacked fire pit and smoke hole and walls were
[415] thatch and mud covered. In this house were kept
large wide-mouthed coiled baskets, some "as big
as washtubs" and trays used as receptacles for
stores of dried meat, fish, small seeds, piñons,
acorns, as well as articles of domestic or occa-

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sional use such as pack baskets, baby cradles, fishing gear, sacks, etc.

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Fresh meat dried in sun by being cut into thin strips, 6 x 12 in. or smaller, hung up, either salted or unsalted, on branches of tree or on line made from native twine strung between 2 trees; drying generally took from 6-7 days. Fish split, cleaned, salt rubbed over them; hung up on willow branches to dry in sun during summer months. Neither meat nor fish smoked or dried over fire; dried fish "would last a long time" (FP, SM). Wild grapes spread out in sun to dry "like raisins" then stored for winter use; box-thorn berries dried whole or in cakes; rush roots sun-dried, stored; small seeds stored, either parched or unparched, in skin sacks or baskets, in storage house.

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Staples; yearly consumption of food.- As food calendar shows (p. 11), during spring and summer seasons Tübatulabal had relatively varied vegetable diet, but by fall their plant foods decreased in variety and during winter they "just ate acorns, piñons, and meat of any sort they could get, and dried and fresh fish" (SM). Of 2 vegetable foods eaten during winter, acorns figured as staple; "more acorns were eaten than piñons; old-timers ate acorn mush with deermeat, like bread. We just get acorns now once in awhile, because now we have white flour" (SM). That piñons were, however, also important in Tübatulabal diet, is shown by amount stored during good piñon yrs. However, abundant crops occur at best only every second yr., whereas acorns, of which Tübatulabal had 6 varieties to draw upon, could be procured in one locality or another annually.

[146]

Regarding proportion of animal, vegetable food eaten, my meager data on subject indicate meats, including birds and fish, may have comprised 40 per cent of food consumed throughout yr., acorns, piñons (if crop good) 40 per cent, small seeds, stalks, raw foods, etc., 20 per cent. As to amount of food consumed by family throughout year, data lacking for flesh foods, but for acorns SM said family 2 adults, 3 children needed one acorn granary (of dimensions given above), full, to have sufficient acorns for year. "If they had a larger family, they made a bigger granary" (SM). To this amount of acorns should be added contents of smaller acorn granary family might have near home. Piñon supplies varied, but in yrs. of good crop family of 5 stored cache such as described above, full of piñons, besides bringing several sackfuls home at end of piñon-gathering period.

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Since all foodstuffs in order to be kept properly had to be sun-dried before being stored, weather which prevailed at season when wild foodstuffs were available for gathering and storing often regulated to a degree amount of food stored from yr. to yr. This consideration applies especially to storage of fish and some of minor plant foodstuffs, such as salt from salt grass,

349 Men hunting deer in mts. camped in natural rock shelters (t'ing-i-l) under overhanging ledge of rock or beneath 2 huge boulders whose tops met gable-fashion.

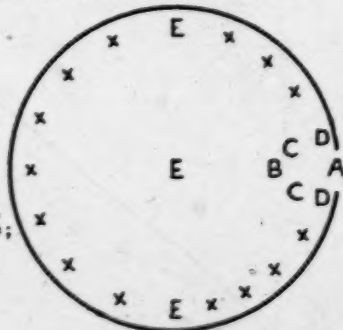
Women pounding meal, etc., at pit mortars on hot days piled up scrub oak or willows to height of 4-6 ft. around mortar bed, in order to have shade while working.

343 Sweat house.- Exterior of sweat house (mu-jaht) resembled that of Koso sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 56), save that door of Tübatulabal house was lower. Interior looked much like Serrano or Pass Cahuilla sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 596, pl. 60), according to SM.

343 To build sweat house, round hole some 4 ft. deep, 15 ft. wide excavated near stream or spring where artificial pool could be made. Three oak posts, 15 in. or so in diameter, 7-7 1/2 ft. high, forked at top, planted upright in straight line equidistant across pit. Ridgepole some 8 in. in diameter, 15 ft. long, set into forks of uprights. Series of smaller poles extended side by side from ridgepole to edge of pit on front, sides, back of house; these poles had bands laid down over them at 1-2-ft. intervals and brush of same variety as that used to cover houses piled on top of them, with dirt piled on top of brush. Door was in line with center upright and faced S; it was 3-3 1/2 ft. high, about 2 ft. wide, and was not hung with tule mats or any other covering because "then it would get too hot inside the sweat house" (SM). Sloping runway led from the door to floor of house. Small sweat houses with single upright pole never made (SM). "One man built sweat house; everyone used it" (SM).

343 Sweat houses heated by fire, which was made between door and middle upright; 2 firetenders (po-'anap'i-l) sat on each side of fire, each with his oak firewood piled up in back of him near the door. These 2 men alternated in feeding fire; sometimes they "fought" each other by blowing flames toward each other and making hissing noises after adding fresh fuel to fire. Bathers sat between 4-ft.-high dirt walls of house and uprights, in circle opposite fire, or "all around the house" if group large one (fig. 6). As many as 30 persons could be accommodated in house described.

Fig. 6. Diagram of seating arrangement in sweat house. A, entrance; B, fire; C, firetenders; D, firewood; E, upright supports; x, sweat bathers.



103 e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.;
361 est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec.
31, T26S, R33E.

*17. kuhka-yl, Palagewan site, at hot springs
in foothills, valley of unaugmented Kern. Elev.
2600 ft.; est. pop. 60; unoccupied, 1932. NW
quarter, sec. 26, T25S, R33E.

18. ho-lit, Palagewan site near mouth of Bull
Run creek. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoc-
cupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 4, T25S, R33E.

Kroeber (Handbook, 607) locates villages at
confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork
of Kern r., and at Kernville; SM said there were
no village sites at either of these points.

361 Hamlet sites might be inhabited regularly
221 throughout winter months, for several years by
same or different families. Families often
[17] shifted residence, however, from one hamlet to
another for same reasons Northfork Mono moved
592 about (Gifford, 1932 b, 17). Hamlets consisted
of 2-6 households; population of single settle-
ment not necessarily all related, but many times
were; occupants of each household related. Ham-
let no. 5 (fig. 11), where SM lived as boy, con-
sisted of 2 related households with personnel
as below:

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House I

Tübat. ♂ (1)	Willy Miranda (3)	Steban Miranda (5)
=Tübat. ♀ (2)	=Tübat. ♀ (4)	Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat. ♂ (7), b of (4)	♀ (9)	Tejon (Chumash) (13)
=Tübat. ♀ (8)	♂ (10)	plus =Tübat. ♀ (14), ss of (8)
	♀ (11)	
	♂ (12)	

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani-ganan); in
house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs.,
until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7)
became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps
a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this
hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet
no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occu-
pants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as
unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but
when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both
households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9
and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets
each consisted of 3 houses.

594 Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral un-
611 named group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

[p. 43(a)]

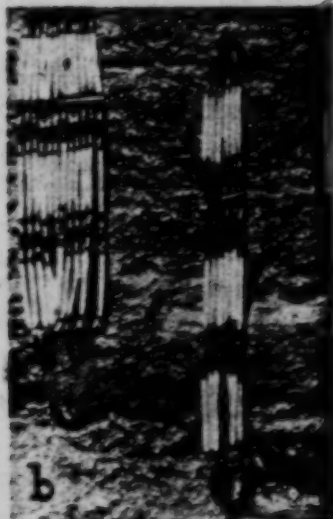
249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11).
301 Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley.
133 d, pa-ša-pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.
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of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

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159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at
Onyx.¹²⁶

Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo;
756 there was another one whose name is not re-
called. Poi'in, the shaman mother of Watisti,
was a Bankalachi.

The village broke up during the summer,
the families combining in groups of two and
threes for summer camps in the mountains.
Little circular brush corrals were built for
shelter. They remained out one or two months
while the women gathered seeds.

When F.M. was about eighteen years old
they moved up to Tule and later, with others,
to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of
which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo
village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles
south of Tule River junction, which places both
it and another Bankalachi village, Čena'wa in
Bokminuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's
map.¹²⁷ Another village, 'n'wao, was east of
Čena'wa. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of
a little hill just above F.M.'s house on the
present Tule River Reservation. The rock
quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a
spot called Toi'yo, which F.M. says refers to
eagles' nests that were there. The first
reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who
refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's
Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

Houses at Sototlo were conical, never
gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in
conical houses farther north: the smoke "just
went out where the brush came together at the
top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn
mats for covering were made of it. Usually
large grasslike "brush" called kana's:ts was
twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and
about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were
about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight
mats to cover a house. The fire was in the
center; the fireplace had no special name. The
"brush" house was called ya'w:l ti'':1; that
covered with tule, pumuk ti'':1.¹²⁸

The sweat house was a single-post affair.
The earth was excavated for about two feet. No
side walls were attempted.¹²⁹ The radiating
roof poles were tied to the top of the center
pole. After interstices were filled with
"brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

¹²⁶See Voegelin, 7.

¹²⁷Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people
called Bokminuwad.

¹²⁸This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River
Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

¹²⁹Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses
(Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

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no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha't:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games---Women played hu'cu'wis, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

Pottery---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

Money---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth \$2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

Blankets---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbit skin or wildcat skin were used in them.

Calendar---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala'sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

Hair nets---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama'ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

Yellowhammer strips---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya'man) were known but rarely used.¹³⁰ A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

Musical instruments---The flute (u'oi'') was made of elderwood; number of holes not

¹³⁰ Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).